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# The Birth of Long Twilight Struggle

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WASHINGTON, Feb. 25—

In 1947, the year the Central Intelligence Agency was born, a brawling Corsican from the docks of Marseilles was recruited to perform a service for the western allies.

His name was Ferri Pisani. His task was to see to it, by whatever means seemed appropriate, that Communists among the longshoremen of Marseilles would not impede the unloading of Marshall Plan cargoes in France.

Pisani did the job and got rich in the process. His CIA retainer was \$250,000 in cash. It was refreshed from time to time in the years that followed and Pisani's stature in

the private world in which he moved increased accordingly. He became a symbol of the power which private men and private organizations often wield in the intricate game of international affairs.

It was evident that the CIA from the moment it commenced operations had an immensely important role to play in what President Kennedy was to call "the long twilight struggle" between the adversaries in the cold war.

It was not enough for the United States to arm its allies, to strengthen governmental institutions, or to finance the industrial establishment through economic and military aid programs. Intellectuals, students, educators, trade unionists, journalists, professional men had to be reached directly through their private concerns.

## VAST PROGRAM

Operating from that premise, the CIA began in the late 1940s and early 1950s a vast program that was to involve not only such men as Pisani but most of the major private institutions in American life.

The extent of that involvement and the subterfuges that were used to bring it about are now being dimly grasped as a result of the revelations of the past two weeks.

What is known to the press and to the public now is still far less than what is not known which is to say that it is likely that the surface has been barely scratched.

Certain basic facts seem clear enough. The first is that many of the billions of public money have been

used by the CIA with no public accounting to influence the political and ideological posture of private groups throughout the world, including groups within the United States. How much money has been involved is such a tightly-held secret that the President of the United States, as of last week apparently had no inkling of the answer. Only about \$15 million has been traced thus far but unsubstantiated rumors place the true figure in the hundreds of millions.

The second self-evident fact is that the decision to fight the cold war covertly through private groups was no whimsical, unilateral decision by the men who have run the CIA during the past 20 years.

As Undersecretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach reported to the President:

"When the Central Intelligence Agency lent financial support to the work of certain American private organizations, it did not act on its own initiative but in accordance with national policies established by the National Security Council in

1952 through 1954. Throughout, it acted with the approval of senior inter-departmental committees, including the Secretaries of State and defense or their representatives."

The agency also acted with the full knowledge and consent of the congressional committees that were created

to oversee its operations. Its activities, in short, were the public policy, never publicly announced, of the government of the United States.

It was a policy, moreover, that had the overt approval and collaboration of what Richard Rovere has described as the American Establishment, that loose coalition of lawyers, industrialists and financiers who are thought, rightly or wrongly, to subtly guide the course of public affairs in the United States.

Allen Dulles, who ran the CIA in the 1950s, was a product of the New York law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, the Establishment.

The Wall Street investment firm, Wood, Struthers & Winthrop, provided "cover" for at least one CIA agent, Hans Tofte, by issuing him credentials as an employee of the firm. Samuel Hadley of the prestigious New York law firm, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley, and McCloy allowed his family's Rubicon Foundation to be used as a conduit for CIA funds.

Hadley, as an incidental footnote, has served for some time as chairman of

the Carnegie Corp. His law partner, Samuel R. Milbank signed the "credentials" issued to agent Tofte by Wood, Struthers and Winthrop. Still another of Hadley's partners, John J. McCloy, has spent much of his adult life as a government official and consultant and is representing the ad-

ministration in negotiations with the NATO allies over the size of the American troop commitment to Europe.

## FUNNEL MONEY

Ell Whitney Debevoise of the equally distinguished law firm, Debevoise, Plimpton, Lyons and Gates, is one of the principal figures in the American Council for the International Commission of Jurists (ACICJ). The council's major function has been to funnel CIA money into the international commission. The Plimpton in the firm of Debevoise, et al., is Francis T.P. Plimpton, former deputy chief of the U.S. mission to the United Nations.

Among Plimpton's outside interests has been the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA) which he has served as a director along with Arthur A. Houghton Jr., of the Corning Glass family, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, the United States Steel Foundation and the General Education Board.

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